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ROUND TABLE

POST-WAR AIR POLICY

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A Radio Discussion by WILLIAM BENTON
WILLIAM BURDEN *and* JOSEPH KASTNER

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Around the Round Table . . . .

WILLIAM BENTON has been vice-president of the University of Chicago since 1937. One of his special interests at the University has been the development of educational broadcasting, and he has been closely identified with the growth of the ROUND TABLE during the last five years. Mr. Benton was graduated from Yale University in 1921. The following year he entered the advertising business, and, in 1929, in association with Chester Bowles, he organized the Benton and Bowles Agency. He retired from the advertising business in 1935 and joined the University's administration two years later. A pioneer in the field of radio entertainment, Mr. Benton believes that the potentialities of radio for adult education have scarcely been tapped. He is vice-chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, which was organized recently under the aegis of the Department of Commerce for the purpose of laying plans for maximum employment and maximum industrial productivity after the war.

WILLIAM A. M. BURDEN, special aviation assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, is a native of New York City and received his A.B. degree at Harvard University in 1927. From 1932 to 1939 Mr. Burden was in charge of aviation research for Scudder, Stevens and Clark, investment counselors. Since 1939 he has served as vice-president and director of National Aviation and as chief of the American Republics Aviation Division of the Defense Supplies Corporation, and he has been aviation assistant in the Department of Commerce since 1942. He is vice-president of the Institute of Aeronautical Sciences. Mr. Burden has written numerous articles on aviation and is the author of *The Struggle for Airways in Latin America* (1943).

JOSEPH KASTNER, senior editor of *Life* magazine, graduated from Yale University in 1930. He worked for the *New York World* and for six years was an associate on *Fortune* magazine. Mr. Kastner has been a senior editor of *Life* since 1936. He is the author of many magazine articles, among which was a recent one in *Life* on "The Postwar Air."

POST-WAR AIR POLICY

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MR. BENTON: The last time that I participated on the ROUND TABLE was in August, when I was in a bombproof cellar in London.[1] War dominates the thinking and activities of England even more than it does here. The English turn their eyes upward to the skies far more than we do here. The English live in fear of destruction and death raining from the skies. As the bombers drone overhead en route to Germany, they live in hope of victory and salvation brought back to them through the skies.

Sir Arthur Harris, head of England's bomber command, showed me pictures which demonstrate how much greater the fear must be in Germany.

Thus, all over the world today, man's eyes turn upward.

Burden, you are a government official. Can the skies after the war be so used as to make them avenues for the betterment and happiness of man? This seems to me really to be our subject today.

MR. BURDEN: It certainly is.

Today, of course, you know I am speaking as an individual, not as a government official. But it is perfectly obvious that, although air transport appears to be of greater importance to Britain than to the United States at the moment, it will soon be of enormous importance to all the nations of the world.

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[1] See William Benton, Eric Johnston, and Harold Laski, *The Economic System—Today and Tomorrow*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 282, broadcast August 15, 1943.

Within a year or two after the war, every country in the world will be less than sixty hours from every other. A great new industry is in the making.

Kastner, you have talked to many of the important people in the industry and in government in preparation for your article for *Life*.[2] What is your opinion? Why is this such a vital topic in American public affairs today?

MR. KASTNER: It is particularly vital to America, because the United States is, beyond any doubt, the world's greatest aerial power. The problem itself is of enormous importance. It is involved with the ways of war and the ways of peace, with the needs of trade, with the needs of transportation, and with the dealings of diplomats and the bargainings of businessmen.

All over the world now, disputes are going on, or are being bred, for rights to fly into this great new air that is opening up to us. The problem of the post-war air is a problem the like of which we have never seen before. It is a complicated problem; it is a very big problem; but it is also a brand-new problem. The post-war air is a battleground. In the United States we are just now beginning to realize what we are fighting for, and we are just beginning to discover the ways in which we can fight.

MR. BENTON: It is a very new problem, and I do not think that many people can claim to have mastered all the phases of it. I know for myself that about the only phase which I can claim to know much about is my experience as a passenger. I have flown a million

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[2] See Joseph Kastner, "This Is an Introduction to the Debate: 'What To Do with the World's Air,' a Problem of Enormous Importance Which Is Already Breeding Great Conflicts," *Life*, November 1, 1943.

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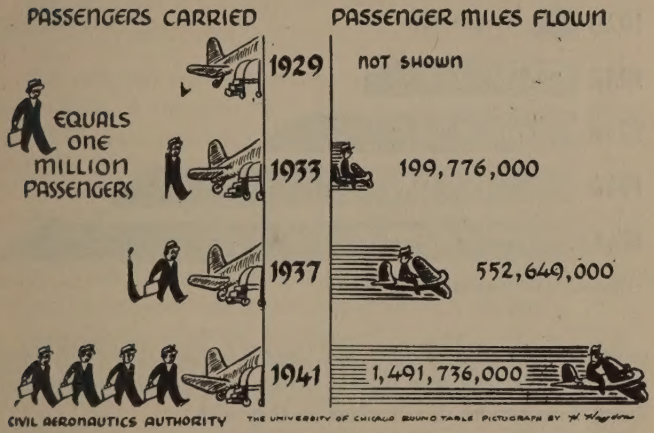
PASSENGER SERVICE ON SCHEDULED AIRLINES

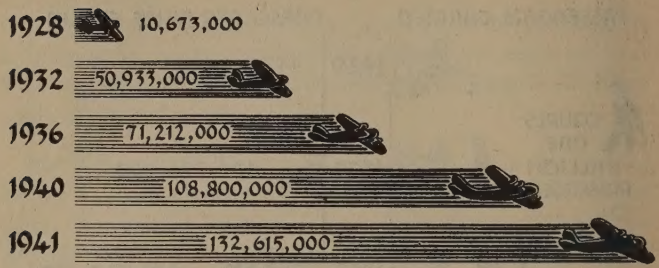


to a million and a half miles, and I like to think that I am an expert in the field—at being a passenger. We are going to discuss the question of the passenger today, because we are going to discuss the whole broad issues of international civil aviation. Perhaps the kickoff is to begin with the relationship between civil and military aviation in peacetime, not in wartime.

Mr. Burden: There has been a great deal of misconception in that field in the past. As a matter of fact, it is but typical of the many phobias which have made it difficult to arrive at intelligent conclusions in this particular area.

As a matter of fact, there is very little relation between civil and military aviation. Some people have gone so far as to suggest that if foreign airliners were allowed to fly across the United States, they might be used for purposes of espionage. This seems rather ridiculous, because, after all, there is nothing to prevent spies from riding

MILES FLOWN ON SCHEDULED AIRLINES



Source: Civil Aeronautics Authority

on our own American airlines, and there is nothing to prevent them from bringing their own private planes over to this country and flying them around almost wherever they wish.

Of course, we must realize that prohibited areas are established over all vital defense zones and that these are recognized by international law.

MR. BENTON: I guess that it is easier to take pictures out of a private plane than out of a transport plane. It seems to me that the Pearl Harbor experience more or less blew up the theory of the danger of espionage through civil aviation, because the Japanese demonstrated, even though they had never had civil aviation rights over Hawaii, that there were other ways to find out the way to Pearl Harbor and to drop bombs on it.

MR. BURDEN: Yes, that is right. That disposed of the fear that the operation of commercial airlines by itself is a threat to a nation's security.

MR. KASTNER: There is another danger which people worry about in this connection. That is, that transport planes can be

very easily changed into bombers—just by cutting a hole in the bottom, perhaps.

MR. BENTON: We heard a lot about that during the thirties, when the Germans were building up their civil aviation.

MR. BURDEN: As a matter of fact, that is completely unsound in my opinion. A transport plane needs a very much larger fuselage than a bomber. Hence it goes slower, and it would be a sitting duck for a pursuit ship.

MR. KASTNER: I quite agree with that. Then, there is the other fear that people have that we must keep up enormous aircraft factories in peacetime, turning out transport planes, so that we will be able to turn out bombers and fighters when a war starts.

Actually, the peacetime air transport business is so small that it could not try to keep the aircraft factories working at a capacity which would satisfy wartime needs. We have to dismiss that right away.

MR. BURDEN: That is perfectly true. Our total annual production of combat planes, as recently announced, will be over a hundred thousand. At least, we are producing at that rate now. In comparison with that, the greatest optimists feel that we will be lucky if a few thousand airplanes are in international transport service some years after the war.[3]

MR. BENTON: I have heard estimates that we will need no more than 5 per cent of present plant production; and those estimates have been said to be very high. Perhaps it will not run over 1 to 2 per cent of military production.

MR. KASTNER: In a few weeks our present capacity could turn

[3] According to the Office of War Information, the 1943 production total of the American aviation industry in combat and cargo planes will reach $20,100,000,000, or one-fourth of the annual war budget and almost one-seventh of the estimated national income.

out all the transport airplanes that we will need. But we cannot completely dismiss the aircraft factories, because they are the places which support and breed the designers of new airplanes, the engineers who work on the designs, and the people who learn how to put planes together piece by piece—the production people.

MR. BENTON: All right. I think that the three of us agree that there is a relationship on that last point, but we agree that the relationship between military and civil aviation is nowhere near so close as is popularly supposed and as was supposed in the thirties. Therefore, arguments which are used by business groups that involve military aviation and tie it up to civil aviation are perhaps exaggerated. It is a good thing to keep that in mind and to examine such arguments carefully.

MR. BURDEN: Quite right!

MR. BENTON: Perhaps the next major point that we should try to clarify is the background of this whole problem.

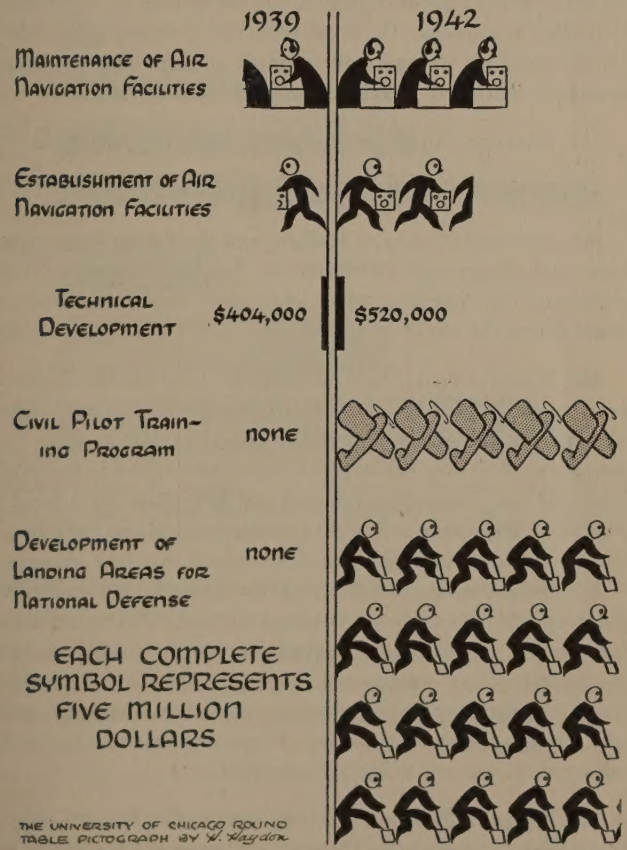
I remember the story of the whiffle bird who flies backward so that he can see where he has been, even if he does not know where he is going, so I think perhaps that we better look backward here a little bit, because it may give us better orientation on the problems of the future.

MR. KASTNER: We should mention the ways in which the air was used in pre-war days. By various conventions, all of them held before 1930, the countries of the air were all operating under the principle of air sovereignty. That is, each country had sovereignty to the air above it, and no other country could fly through this air without getting permission.

MR. BURDEN: That meant that one had to get permission to operate an airline in any direction. The number of schedules that could be operated was limited in the original agreement. In sharp contrast, an ocean steamship line could run to any port in the world

SELECTED APPROPRIATIONS BY THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS AUTHORITY

1939-42 (fiscal year)



Source: Oliver J. Lissitzyn, *International Air Transport and National Policy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1942).

and run as many trips as there were passengers who wanted to travel.

MR. BENTON: Of course, partly the result of that, on the business activities in the various countries, was the setting-up of nationally controlled monopolies. The seven countries operating in the field of international air transport all operated through single-company, monopoly-controlled organizations.

MR. KASTNER: Most of them were government controlled.

MR. BENTON: German—Germans, Italians . . . .

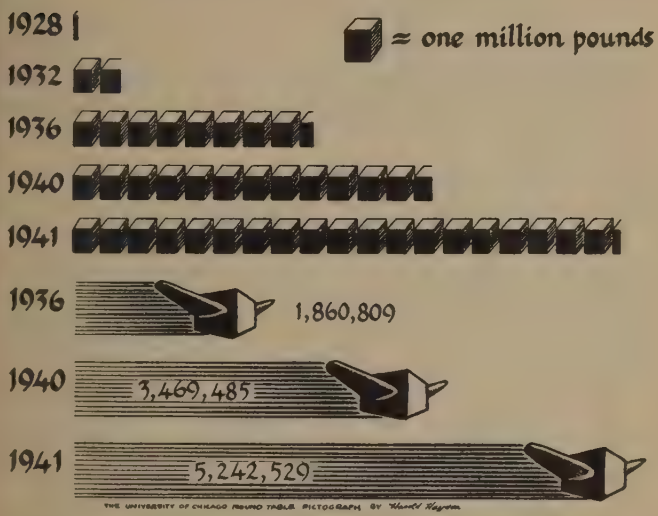
MR. KASTNER: Germans, Italians; and the British came around to a form of government control. In America we had a private monopoly, Pan-American, which had spread itself over a lot of the world before the war.

MR. BURDEN: That is right, although the total volume of international operation was much less than was generally supposed. There were tens of thousands of routes in operation, but actually Pan-American, which was the largest international airline in the world, employed only about three hundred and fifty pilots and a hundred airplanes. There were only eight commercial airplanes in the entire world capable of covering a two-thousand-mile distance nonstop.

It is also interesting to note that in the domestic field we operated differently than we did in the international field. There were sixteen independent domestic airline companies, and there still are. Their competition is not unregulated, however. The Civil Aeronautics Board, through the granting of certificates of convenience and necessity, decides where they can fly. It permits limited competition among them, but not unlimited competition.

MR. BENTON: Of course, war is hitting aviation like, let us say, a seven-thousand-ton truck. The effect and impact of the war, as you pointed out in your article in *Life*, on aviation is enormous, com-

EXPRESS AND FREIGHT CARRIED ON SCHEDULED AIRLINES



The first five rows of figures represent foreign, domestic, and territorial service in pounds. The last three rows are for domestic only and are expressed in ton-miles. Civil Aeronautics Authority.

pressing into a few years, perhaps, progress that otherwise would have taken decades.

MR. KASTNER: What is more, it spread America all around the world. The Army Air Forces' Air Transport Command, and its Navy equivalent, are today operating more miles and more planes every day than all the airlines of the world were operating before the war. The expansion has been terrific.

MR. BURDEN: The most important part of the expansion from the long term is the fact that a chain of airports has been constructed along all the important, or almost all the important, commercial air

routes of the world, which will greatly facilitate the expansion of post-war commercial aviation.

MR. BENTON: Of course, the five senators who made an inspection tour recently on their return did announce that we had put five hundred million dollars into these air bases throughout the world. However, I still think that perhaps the most important thing is the change in psychology that has been brought by the war.

MR. KASTNER: I think that that is as important as the extension of facilities and the expansion of the production and operation of airlines. We have a vastly different approach today. Americans, probably more than any other people, have realized that the world, though it is a great big round place, still can be covered very easily. Today American planes can fly almost anywhere in a very short time.

MR. BENTON: And our boys want to fly everywhere.

MR. KASTNER: We are beginning to insist that the air should be America's.

MR. BURDEN: It is true that hundreds of thousands of men, who would normally not have flown for years to come, have become educated to long-distance transoceanic flights as a part of their work in the Army and the Navy or as civilians in war work.

Partly as a result of this, international air transport is now approaching the point, and will reach it shortly after the war, where it can become a business that will stand on its own feet economically. The present Pan-American routes do not require subsidy for their operation today. After the war, the most careful students of the subject feel, all heavily traveled routes will be able to be supported without subsidy.

MR. BENTON: Of course, there are a lot of guesses being kicked around on just how big that business is going to be. There seems to be a lot of difference in the thinking of the people in the industry.

United Air Lines, not long ago, put out a little pamphlet in which they estimated that forty-three planes—one-hundred-passenger planes—could carry all the North Atlantic travel which can be developed by 1948.

I wrote a letter to Mr. Patterson, the president of the United Air Lines, challenging his statistics, which he based on North Atlantic steamship travel. I told him that I did not think that they were any more valid than guesses that the railroad business would have formed at the time of the abandoning of stagecoaches or that the automobile business might have made at the time of the abandonment of the horse and buggy.

MR. BURDEN: The type of service that will be offered after the war will certainly be extremely attractive. The hundred-passenger airplane which the president of the United Air Lines was talking about will give overnight service from London to New York. It will be seven to eight times as heavy as the DC-3's to which we are accustomed. The fare will not be over two hundred dollars.

But I do feel that the United Air Lines' figures are probably about right for the development in the first few years after the war. It has taken the domestic industry fifteen years to divert 15 per cent of Pullman traffic to the air. To assume, as United does, that it will take five years to divert 80 per cent of the steamship traffic to the air, does not seem to me overconservative.

MR. BENTON: It took a long time for radiobroadcasting to get going. Back during the boom of the twenties it did not grow so fast, but even in the face of the tremendous depression of the thirties it grew enormously. I think that we need to keep our sights up on this market, because our young people—these two million men in the Air Corps and others—are going to want to fly. If the rates are low and if the service is good, they are going to want to take their wives to England and their mothers up in the planes in order to show them what they have been doing in these last two years.

MR. KASTNER: I want to go to Guadalcanal and Chungking and Stalingrad. I think we have to remember that, in the eyes of history, the dreamer has often turned out to be the practical man.

MR. BENTON: I agree.

In view of all this, what should the policy of the United States be in the international air field? How much control can United States policy have over developments in the international air field?

MR. KASTNER: There are various steps that can be taken to move between the so-called "closed sky," in which no planes can fly without individual permission, and the "open sky," in which planes can fly anywhere—that is, the much misused "freedom-of-the-air" term.

Take, for an example, a Canadian airplane that would want to fly through the United States, from Montreal to Mexico City, as a route perhaps via Chicago and Brownsville. The United States, which has sovereign rights to its own air, could do the following five things: (1) It could let the Canadian plane fly over the United States without landing in the United States, except in emergency. (2) It could let the Canadian plane fly to Chicago, unload passengers from Montreal, but fly no further across this country. (3) It could let the Canadian plane fly into the United States and stop at Chicago and at Brownsville for refueling and repair but not for loading and unloading passengers. This can be called the "right-of-air transit." (4) It could let the Canadian plane fly into the country, stop at Chicago to unload passengers from Montreal and take on passengers for Mexico City, and let it do the same thing at Brownsville, but not let it take passengers on at Chicago for Brownsville—that is, not let the Canadian airline compete in domestic traffic. Or, finally, the United States could let the Canadian plane fly into and over this country, stopping anywhere for any peaceable purpose. This would allow it to take on passengers at Chicago and drop them off at Brownsville. That is, it would allow it to compete with our domestic airlines over domestic routes.

Mr. Burden: Certainly, Kastner, the examples that you have given show the enormous number of ways in which this problem could be handled. Almost any one of them would be an improvement over the pre-war situation. Under the pre-war conditions your Canadian airline would have had to get permission from the United States merely to fly over its territory, even if it did not intend to stop—to say nothing of the matter of picking up passengers. It would have had to get permission from the Mexican government to operate to Mexico and do business there. The Mexican government might have limited the number of schedules that it could run, no matter how many passengers actually wanted to travel. Even more than that, the Mexican government could have required that the Canadian service could not start before the Mexican government itself was prepared to operate a service in return. What an incredibly restrictive atmosphere in which to try to develop a new transportation industry!

Mr. Benton: Listening to you two fellows lets me think that the fog in these political questions and these restrictions may be even thicker than the fog that the weather experts worry about when I take my planes as a passenger.

I, as a passenger, want to reverse the approach to this and take Kastner's Canadian illustration. As a passenger living here in Chicago, of course, I would like to take that Canadian plane, if it goes when I want to go and if its rates are low and if its service is good. So if I, as a passenger, am deprived by government policy of taking that plane, there has to be a very good reason for so depriving me.

We have agreed that the questions of military security are not so vital and important as most people think. What is the valid reason for depriving me of my rights as a passenger to cheap, fast, good service?

Mr. Burden: I think that as an American citizen you might feel differently than you would as a passenger. The service that you

THE A

JOHANNESBURG
NAIROBI
EQUATOR
KHARTOUM
BOMBAY
KARACHI
TEHRAN
BAIRA
CAIRO
ACCRA
SINGAPORE
SOERABAJA
CALCUTTA
ISTANBUL
TRIPOLI
CHUNGKING
CHELYABINSK
ROME
BERLIN
MARSEILLE
PARIS
MOSCOW
HONGKONG
NOVOSIBIRSK
LISBON
MANILA
SHANGHAI
LONDON
DARWIN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
REYKJAVIK
AZORES
VLADI-VOSTOK
NORTH POLE
TOKYO
GUAM
PETRO-PAVLOVSK
BOTWOOD
SYDNEY
RABAUL
BRISBANE
FAIRBANKS
NEW YORK
WAKE
EDMONTON
MONTREAL
BERMUDA
CHICAGO
MIDWAY
SEATTLE
MIAMI
NEW CALEDONIA
SAN FRANCISCO
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NEW ORLEANS
HONOLULU
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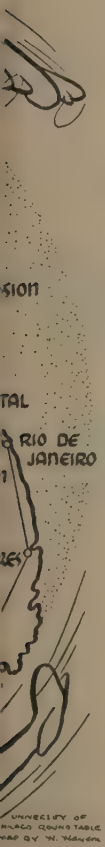
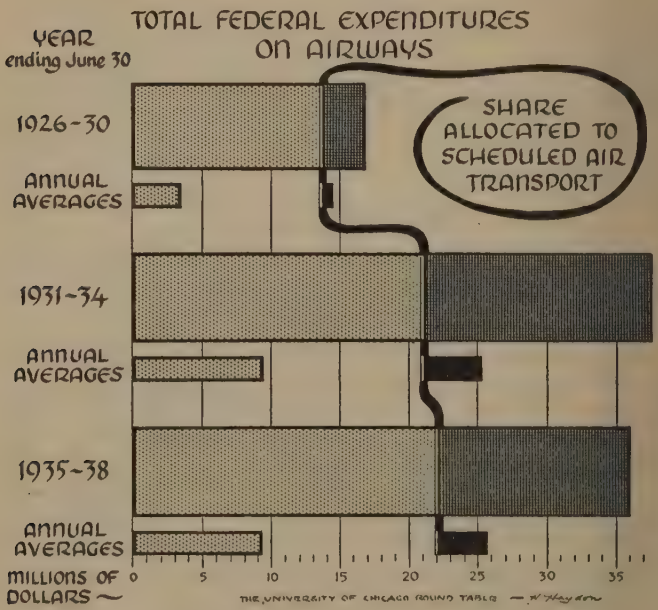


DISTANCES IN STATUTE MILES

London–Berlin	600
New York–London	3,400
New York–Moscow	4,600
New York–Mexico City	2,100
New York–Rio de Janeiro	5,300
San Francisco–Auckland	6,800
San Francisco–Manila	8,000
Chicago–Singapore	10,000
Chicago–Calcutta	8,000
Vancouver–Sydney	7,800
Vancouver–London	4,800
Montreal–London	3,200
London–Moscow	1,600
London–Cairo	2,200
London–Capetown	7,000
London–Karachi	4,000
London–Darwin	9,000
Moscow–Karachi	2,600
Moscow–Chungking	3,700

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES ON THE AIRWAYS SYSTEM, 1926-38



Source: Lissitzyn, *op. cit.*

have received in the past, of course, has been very cheap and fast and good. I doubt very much that any country with a well-developed air-transport industry like our own would wish to see foreign-owned airlines operate what, in effect, is a public utility business within the United States.

MR. BENTON: Perhaps as an American citizen I would rather be taxed heavily to subsidize our airlines if they are unable to compete

with this foreign competition. I think that it is far from certain that they cannot compete with it. Kastner has said that we are the greatest air power in the world. I am told that there are Swedish people here now, looking around, trying to buy American airplanes. Before the war, practically every country bought our American airplanes. I do not see why, at this stage, we should assume that we cannot compete.

MR. KASTNER: But we are not going to be competing entirely on the basis of operation. We may very well be competing with other government subsidies.

MR. BENTON: We can also come to a subsidy program ourselves, later, and have what I will call "open subsidies"—openly arrived at —instead of these hidden subsidies.

MR. BURDEN: You gentlemen are really raising the issue of free trade in the air. If we have free trade in other areas, we may well have it in the air.

MR. BENTON: Let us revert to Kastner's illustration again and suppose that the plane is going from Chicago to Cairo. What are the alternative policies that we might follow for our planes that fly abroad?

MR. KASTNER: We take it for granted that we want to fly to Cairo because we want to fly everywhere. Just how we are going to operate those planes is a question which involves a lot of arguments. There are three general ways in which we can operate our planes. We can, for one, let the government operate them and let the government own the airlines.

MR. BENTON: I think that I would argue that there is no general sentiment in favor of that. Would you agree?

MR. BURDEN: I think that neither Congress, the public, nor the industry would be in favor of such a policy.

MR. KASTNER: I agree with that. Secondly, we could have a privately owned company run the airlines but permit only one company in the international field—that is, a monopoly company. The British, who work under this system, as a matter of fact, have a very fine Biblical-sounding term for it. They call it "the chosen instrument."

MR. BENTON: It is a Biblical-sounding term for "monopoly."

MR. KASTNER: It surely is.

MR. BENTON: Yes.

MR. KASTNER: In America, Pan-American, which is in favor of the chosen instrument, thinks of it as a community company in which all the airlines would participate, perhaps even with some government funds but not with government control.

MR. BURDEN: Though a community company would obviously be infinitely better than a government-owned monopoly, I doubt very much if American aviation would progress as rapidly under it as it would under a competitive system.

In a new and highly technical business such as aviation, we need several sets of brains working completely independently on the same problem. We can get that only through competition, and it need not be, and could not be under our present law, unregulated competition.

The Civil Aeronautics Board would decide how many American airlines could enter the foreign field and where they should run. They would see that we did not have too many representatives and weaken our bargaining position thereby.

MR. BENTON: I agree with you. That, then, is the third possibility—competitive American airlines operating abroad.

In relation to the chosen instrument, I can imagine the kind of world in which the chosen instrument might be essential as an arm of national policy. I can imagine it, but I do not like to imagine it,

because I do not like to admit that that is the kind of world that we are fighting for in this war—that is, a world ridden by fear. If that is the kind of world we are going to have and if we are going to be forced into so-called "chosen instruments" as methods of international competition, there are many, many people in this country who will reverse their position, in my opinion, and will prefer the government as the owner and operator of that chosen instrument rather than having it in private hands.

MR. BURDEN: I believe that American-owned private companies could compete effectively with any number of chosen instruments.

MR. BENTON: What is being done today, here in the United States, about these questions?

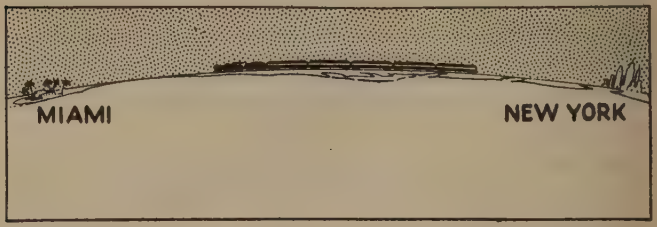
MR. KASTNER: The Senate is complaining bitterly that nothing is being done. Some things are being done. President Roosevelt has made some statements to the press about it. He said that he was in favor of private ownership of international airlines. He also said that he was in favor of opening up the sky so that there would be many fewer restrictions than there were before the war.

A special—and still unpublished—report made to the Secretary of State by a large and very intelligent committee came out in favor of private competing lines in the international field. That is, they opposed the chosen instrument.

What goes on in Britain?

MR. BURDEN: As you know, I was in England for a month during June and the early part of July. There they seem thoroughly wedded to the chosen-instrument principle. They also have the additional problem of correlating their policy with the dominions. An Empire Air Conference was held last month, in which the dominions were present, and an area of agreement was presumably reached. Lord Beaverbrook, who has been placed in charge of civil aviation, says that, as soon as the dominions have had a chance to ratify what was

NEW YORK IS CLOSER (by Air Time) TO MOSCOW THAN TO MIAMI (by Train Time)



Courtesy Consolidated Aircraft Corporation

Today it takes less time to travel from New York to Moscow by plane than from New York to Miami by train.

done at that conference, Britain will be able to discuss the subject formally with the United States.

MR. BENTON: We seem to have a lot to discuss, negotiate, trade over, between ourselves and the British. Of course, that also goes for Russia, when we know better what Russia's policy may be, and for other nations. I think that it is fair to say there is a common interest in maximizing, in every way we can, air transport throughout the world.

MR. KASTNER: We have to realize that air transport is a very good thing and that, the more we have of it, the better off we are.

Mr. Benton: We must not forget in this country that England, too, has a lot to give, not only in the air bases throughout the world. I recently saw a semipublic photostatic copy of a contract between the English government and Haile Selassie, in which Haile Selassie agreed that no planes could land in Ethiopia except with the "O.K." and consent of the British government.

Mr. Burden: England has certain geographic advantages. We, on our side, have the greatest air-transport industry in the world—practically all the transport airplanes in existence at the moment and a tremendous amount of "know-how." We also have the world's greatest air-transport market.

Mr. Benton: Of course, President Roosevelt has announced, and I think it is an important announcement, that national air rights are an important condition of the settlement on which the final peace will be based. The five senators who have just returned seem to indicate that they agree with his statement to Congress of a week or two ago that the time to prepare for peace is at the height of war. I believe that that is going on now in aviation.

Gentlemen, in conclusion, we seem to have agreed that the relationship between civil and military aviation is at best only cousinly and that the two questions are mixed up and confused in present discussions.

We agree that government ownership is not in the national interest in the international field. We agree that competition among several American airlines and foreign airlines promises maximum progress in the international field.

We disagree somewhat on the risks of allowing foreign airlines to operate within the American market. Burden believes that the American industry should be protected. I favor competition from abroad in the interest of our passengers and of the American public, though I agree that if our airlines cannot compete successfully, we will face the necessity of considering subsidies to keep them dynamic and vital.

The three of us disagree somewhat on the size of the future market. Kastner and I think it can be far larger than Burden thinks is likely.

We agree that the issue, and the entire issue, of post-war air policy is of paramount national significance.

Perhaps the best summary is that given by Congresswoman Luce on the floor of Congress, when, in referring to aviation and post-war aviation policy, she said: "The sky is the limit and the time is now."

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What Do *You* Think?

1. What are the facts on the developing volume of American airplane production and transport? What is the future for international air transport? Does the wartime network of air cargo and transport routes have a practical connection with future commercial developments?

2. What is the meaning of the phrase "sovereignty of the air"? What is its diplomatic history? Why has the "closed-sky system" hampered the development of international air transport? What are the important political rivalries over air routes?

3. What is the meaning of the term "freedom of the air"? Would you favor the "internationalization" of the world's airways? Would you favor freedom of air transit? Freedom of air facilities? Freedom of air trade?

4. How much competition between air-transport lines is feasible and desirable internationally? Domestically? Do you think the American government should give subsidies to American airlines if it should become apparent that they cannot survive foreign competition?

5. What sort of government participation in or operation of air transport is desirable? What do you think of the "chosen-instrument" policy? What are the problems of monopoly and regulation of private airlines?

6. What sort of foreign policy is necessary to realize America's interests in international air transport? How is post-war air policy related to the problems of foreign policy and to the economic and political interests of the United States?

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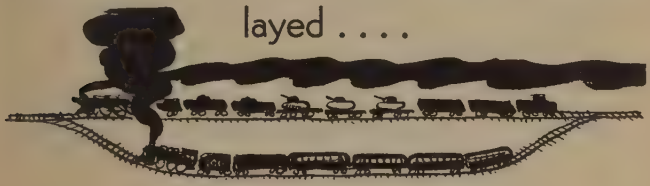

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Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
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Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
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Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
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Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
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Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
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Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
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11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
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Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
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Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
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DAVID DAICHES, Department of English, University of Chicago

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